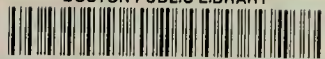


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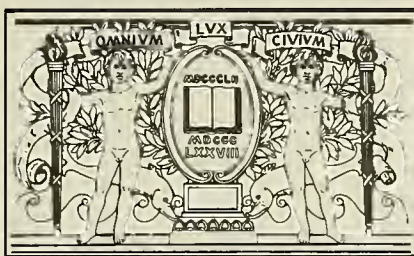


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South End

Neighborhood Profile

1988



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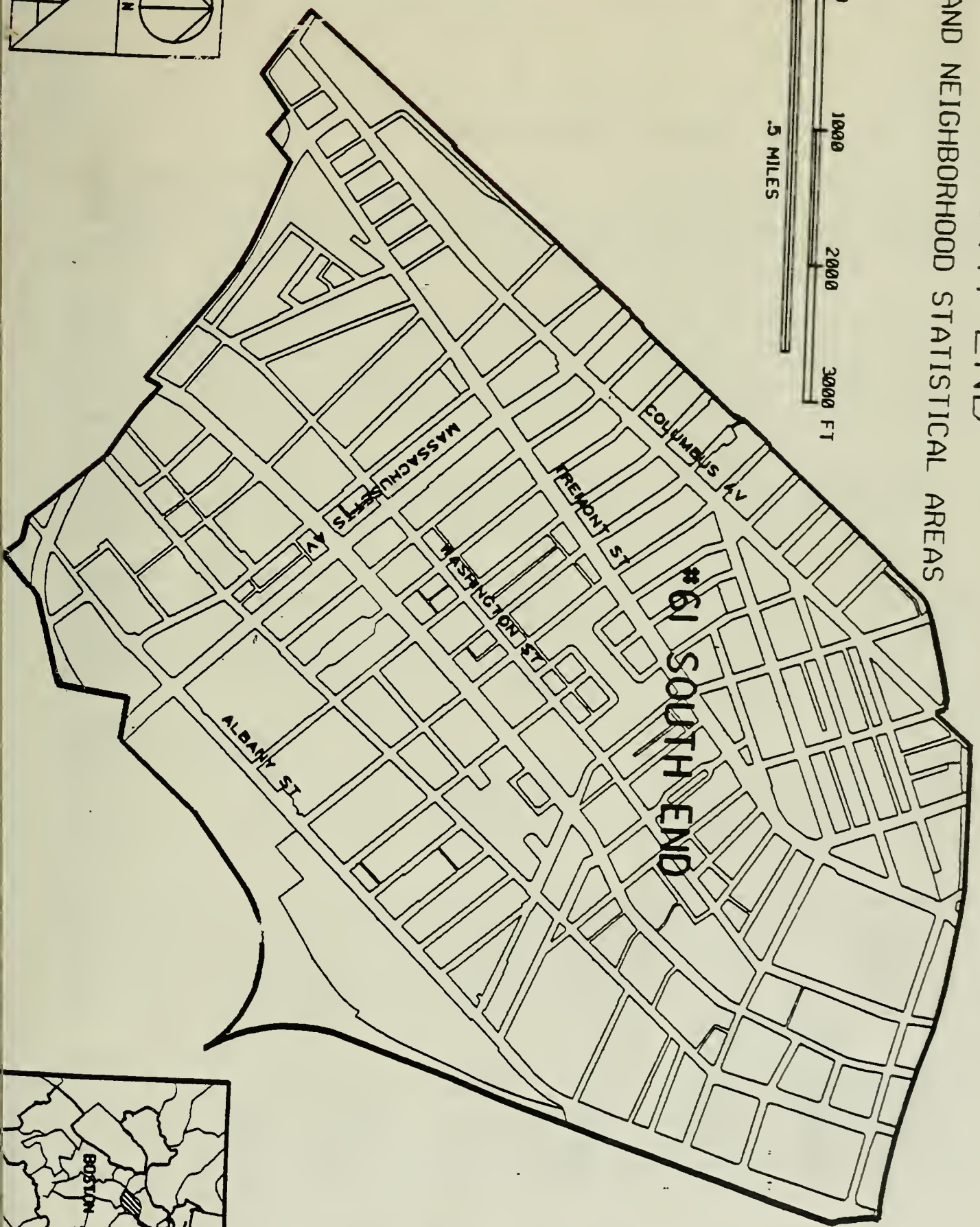
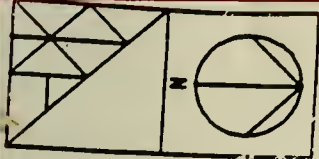
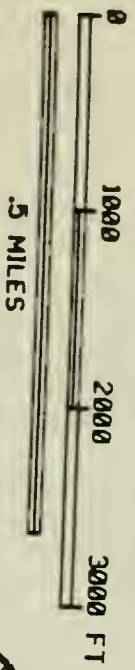
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PLANNING DISTRICT #6 SOUTH END AND NEIGHBORHOOD STATISTICAL AREAS



SOUTH END NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE

Introductory overview

The South End is one of Boston's most richly varied and complex neighborhoods, despite being little over one square mile in size and housing only 4% of Boston's total population. Developed from 1850 to 1875 on partially filled land, it was briefly a genteel enclave before attracting immigrant workers finding work nearby.

Soon, most residents were immigrant or first generation Americans who found in the South End cheap, convenient housing inhabited by others like themselves. Some families bought the inexpensive but practical lodging houses and remained while their tenants, relatives and neighbors moved on. Each block retains to this day some of that "port of entry" flavor by being predominantly Lebanese, Irish, Yankee, Chinese, West Indian, Southern Black, Greek, or Hispanic.

After its first 100 years, the relative harmony in this neighborhood of gracious but decaying brick bowfronts and rowhouses was shattered by three powerful external forces: the construction of the Prudential Center on adjoining railyards, urban renewal, and an awakening of new interest in inner city neighborhoods.

Since 1965 over \$135 million in public resources have been spent under urban renewal in the South End, bringing about much demolition, new streets, a new library, elementary school, parks and much new and rehabilitated housing. Recently, major public transportation improvements including the new Orange line have been completed. Maintaining and improving housing for longterm South End residents in the face of gentrification and surging market forces is the South End's greatest challenge.

I. Neighborhood History

The South End began in 1850 as a series of real estate ventures of filled marshland in the Back Bay. A pattern of three and four story, single family rowhouses gradually built up along a patchwork grid of streets and squares off major roads leading back into Boston. The area's first developers had envisioned a residential area similar to sections of the then aging Beacon Hill district.

Soon, however, a working class population, attracted by new industrial development forming along the South End's southern and eastern edges, began to move into the area. At the same time, more affluent residents became attracted to the new, more fashionable residential areas being developed in Boston's Back Bay. By the financial depression of 1873, it had become clear that the South End, which by then housed a large Irish Catholic population, would remain a primarily working class district with existing rowhouses divided into multiple dwelling units and lodging rooms.

After the Irish residents came Jewish, Syrian, Greek, Italian, Chinese, Portuguese, West Indian, and most recently Puerto Rican communities. A tenement district developed around Castle Square, and Dover Street became an open-air market similar to New York's lower east side. By the turn of the century, the South End had become the largest lodging house district in the United States, with 37,000 people, more than its entire 1980 population, crowded into lodging houses along the cross streets between Tremont and Washington.

The South End also gained a reputation as a haven for "dens of vice" -- the 41 saloons, 24 liquor stores, and 11 poolrooms that the area once contained. In 1898,

South End social worker Robert Woods coined the term "the city wilderness" to describe the district. Although still containing a working class family population, most Bostonians associated the area with alcoholism, prostitution, and drug traffic.

In 1965 the BRA and the City of Boston created an urban renewal district in the area. Its architectural distinctiveness, coupled with its proximity to the new sources of employment being developed at Copley Square and the Prudential Center, made it seem like an ideal area for community revival. Few anticipated the powerful market forces this would unleash.

Table Ia. South End Population and Housing, 1950 - 1980
(In persons, percent of City, and dwelling units, percent of City)

	1950 -----	1960 -----	1970 -----	1980 -----
Population	57,218 (7.1)	35,002 (5.0)	22,680 (3.5)	27,125 (4.8)
Housing units	15,356 (6.9)	20,849 (8.7)	10,719 (4.6)	13,761 (5.7)
Persons/unit	3.7	1.7	2.1	2.0

Note: figures in brackets are percent of Boston total.

Source: a)

See section at end of profile describing sources, as well as the methodology.

II. Demographics

In 1985, the South End had an estimated population of 25,400, down somewhat from 1980 due to declining household size. Of these, 23,100 were living in 13,300 households, more than half of which were single person households, and 2,260 persons, were housed in group quarters. The South End had considerably more than its share of 35 to 54 year olds, but many fewer persons over 55, compared to the city average.

Table IIa. Population, 1985*

	Total -----	Population in group quarters -----	Household population -----	Persons per household -----
South End	25,372	2,260	23,112	1.8
City of Boston	601,095	49,595	551,500	2.4

* Note difference between total population and household population. Most of the following tables refer to household population as explained in the end notes for source b).

Table IIb. Age Composition of Household Population, 1985
(in percent)

	Median age -----	0-14 -----	15-24 -----	25-34 -----	35-54 -----	55+ -----
	30.8 yrs	13	18	30	28	11
City of Boston	28.8 yrs	17	23	22	20	18

Note: Percent may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Source: b)

The South End is one of Boston's most racially, ethnically, and economically diverse neighborhoods. In 1985, it was 46 percent black, 34 percent white, 11 percent Asian, and 9 percent Hispanic and other minorities.

Table IIc. Racial/Ethnic Composition of Household Population, 1985
(in percent)

	White, not Hispanic	Black	Hispanic*	Asian	Other races
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
South End	34	46	8	11	1
City of Boston	62	25	7	5	1

Note: Percent may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Source: b)

* Hispanic includes self-designated Hispanics plus those who speak Spanish in the home or were born in a Spanish-speaking country

In 1985, the South End had many more singles and unrelated individuals, and a corresponding lack of traditional families and couples.

Table IIId. Household Composition, 1985
(in percent)

	Traditional families and couples	Single parent households	Single person household	Household of unrelated individuals
	-----	-----	-----	-----
South End	12	12	56	20
City of Boston	36	16	34	14

Note: Percent may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Source: b)

III. Income and Poverty

Median household income in the South End improved substantially from 1979 to 1984, due to gentrification, which also sharply reduced the fraction of persons in poverty. The unrelated individuals in the South End are relatively well off, but one-third of the South End families were still in poverty in 1984, a proportion similar to Roxbury.

Table IIIa. Median Household Income and Portion in Poverty, 1979 and 1984

	Median household income		Percent in poverty			
	1979	1984	1979 all persons	1984 all persons	1984 all families	1984 unrelated persons
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
South End	\$11,806	\$22,200	23	17	33	7
City of Boston	12,530	19,250	20	21	22	17

Source: b)

IV. Mobility and Migration

With 40 percent of its population born in other parts of the U.S. and Canada, the South End houses a disproportionate share of the city's newcomers, both those well-off and the less affluent. This is reflected in only 17 percent having lived in their homes for eleven years or more, compared to the 29 percent city average, and 63 having lived there only five years or less.

Table IVa. Place of Birth of 1985 Residents
(in percent)

	Massachusetts	Other U.S. and Canada	Europe	Elsewhere
	-----	-----	-----	-----
South End	41	40	3	16
City of Boston	55	25	5	15

Note: Percent may not total to 100 due to rounding.
Source: b)

Table IVb. Years in Dwelling Unit of 1985 Household Residents
(in percent)

	<2	2-5	6-10	11-15	16+
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
South End	31	32	19	7	10
City of Boston	28	27	16	10	19

Note: Percent may not total to 100 due to rounding.
Source: b)

V. Employment

While the unemployment rate in the South End, at 9 percent, was significantly above the city average, the 77 percent labor force participation of residents over 16 was also well above the city norm. This again reflects the unusual population mix of the South End. Industries of employed residents showed unusually many were in trades and self-employed, as well as underparticipation in finance and real estate, manufacturing and government employment.

Table Va. Labor Force Status, Spring 1985
(in percent)

	Participation rate (Persons aged 16 yrs +)	Unemployment rate
	-----	-----
South End	77	9
City of Boston	66	6

Source: b)

Table Vb. Industry of Resident Workers, 1985
(in percent)

	Manuf'g	Trade	F.I.R.E.*	Services	Gov't	Other
South End	10	20	6	39	6	19
City of Boston	14	16	8	36	11	15

Note: Percent may not total to 100 due to rounding.

* F.I.R.E. is an abbreviation for Finance, Insurance and Real Estate.

Source: b)

Fully 57 percent of 16,000 jobs located in the South End are in government and services. The commercial economy of the South End is divided into neighborhood retail and services stores north of Shawmut Avenue, light manufacturing firms and medical institutions along Harrison and Albany streets, and wholesaling businesses in the nearby South Bay/Newmarket district. Large employers such as Boston City and University Hospitals, New England Nuclear, Teradyne, Digital, and Stride Rite manufacturing firms, New England Telephone and City Public Works Department public services, and the Newmarket wholesaling plants comprise eighty percent of all South End employment.

Table Vc. Employment Located Within Neighborhood, 1983

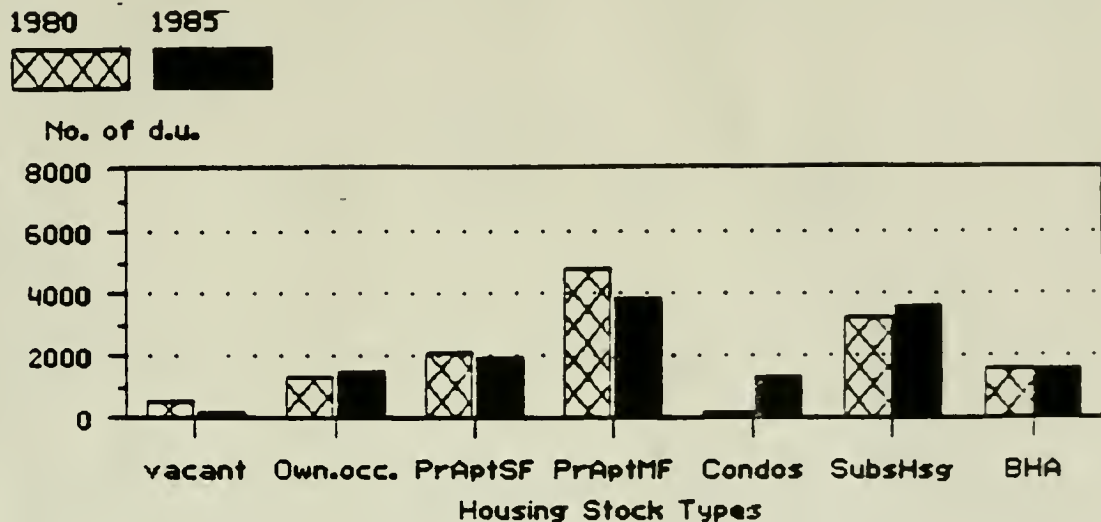
	Manuf'g	Trade	F.I.R.E.	Services	Gov't	Other
South End	2,200	3,100	200	4,200	4,900	1,400
City of Boston	48,900	81,000	78,800	171,000	91,500	58,100

Source: c)

VI. Housing

The housing market of the South End is increasingly tight as the the 10 percent vacancy rate of 1980 declined sharply to 3 percent in 1985. There were 13,894 housing units in 1985, a marginal net increase of 142 total units in five years, but the usable stock increased by another 375 dwellings through a decline in vacancies, largely through reclamation and reoccupancy of substandard units, which were often converted into condominiums.

In 1985, 37 percent of all its units were either public or assisted housing, and 26 percent were within 1-4 unit structures, largely resident-owned. Thirty-seven percent, the balance, were in multifamily structures recently converted into condominiums. In mid-1985, 1,319 condominiums comprised nine percent of all South End units; over 1,100 condos were converted since 1980. Lodging houses, on the other hand, long-time fixtures of the South End, have declined markedly in numbers since 1960, providing only 900 rooms in 39 houses in 1985.

Table VIa. Housing Stock Composition by Structure Types, 1980 and 1985
(in dwelling units)

=====										
SOUTH END	Private Housing and Condos							Assisted Housing		
Stock type:	1-4 vacant	Own.occ.	PrAptSF	PrAptMF	CondoSF	CondoMF	SubsHsg	BHA	Total	
1-4(SF)/5+(MF)	1-4(SF)	1-4(SF)	1-4(SF)	5+(MF)	1-4(SF)	5+(MF)	Mixed 5+(MF)		Mixed	
=====										
1980	10%	540	1,287	2,127	4,790	0	199	3,247	1,562	13,752
% of pl.dist.		4	9	15	35	0	1	24	11	100
=====										
1985	3%	165	1,475	1,947	3,851	326	993	3,561	1,576	13,894
% of pl.dist.		1	11	14	28	2	7	26	11	100
=====										
Change '80-'85		(375)	188	(180)	(939)	326	794	314	14	142
% chg from '80		(69)	15	(8)	(20)	inf	399	10	1	1
=====										

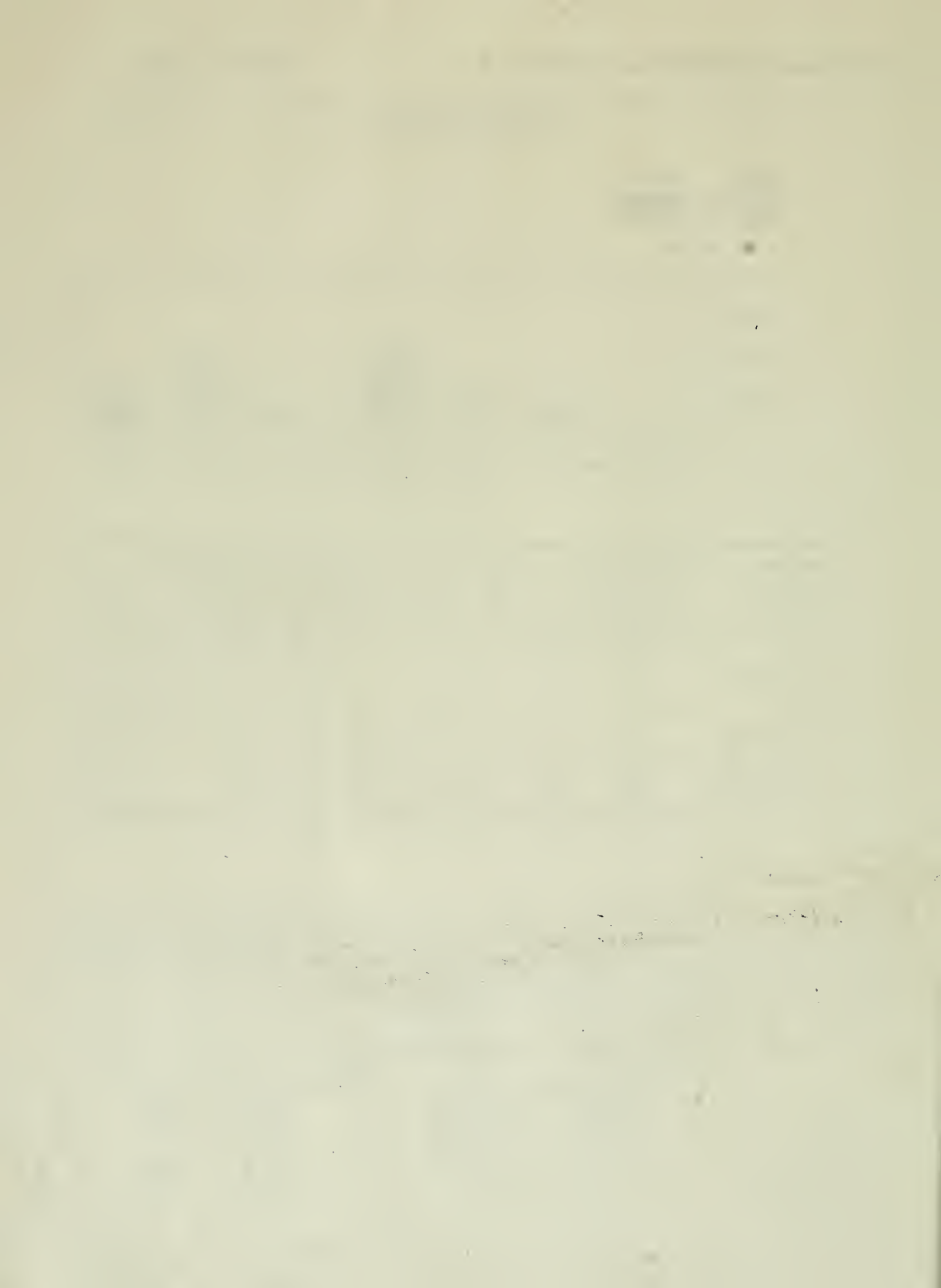
Source: c)

Housing values in the South End in 1985 at \$320,000 were considerably above the City mean at \$115,000. Prices have risen at a fast pace due to the South End's location and the desirability of reclaiming its many large, older rowhouses. Rents have been moving higher, increasing from \$221 to \$370 in five years, but the median is still well below the level of rents in downtown neighborhoods.

Table VIb. 1-3 Family Property Values and Median Gross Rents, 1980 and 1985

	1-3 family property values		Median monthly gross rents	
	1979	1985	1980	1985
South End	\$110,000	\$320,000	\$221	\$370
City of Boston	32,000	115,000	254	400

Source: b)



VII. Transportation

Due to the South End's convenient location, many of its residents walk to work instead of using automobiles. In fact, 61 percent of its households do not own any vehicle, and only 7 percent have more than one.

Table VIIa. Means of Household Transportation to Work, 1985
(in percent)

	Vehicle -----	MBTA -----	Walk -----	Other -----
South End	30	32	34	4
City of Boston	50	33	15	3

Note: Percent may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Source: b)

Table VIIb. Number of Vehicles Owned per Household, 1985
(in percent)

	None -----	1 -----	2 -----	3 or more -----
South End	61	32	7	0
City of Boston	39	42	14	5

Note: Percent may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Source: b)

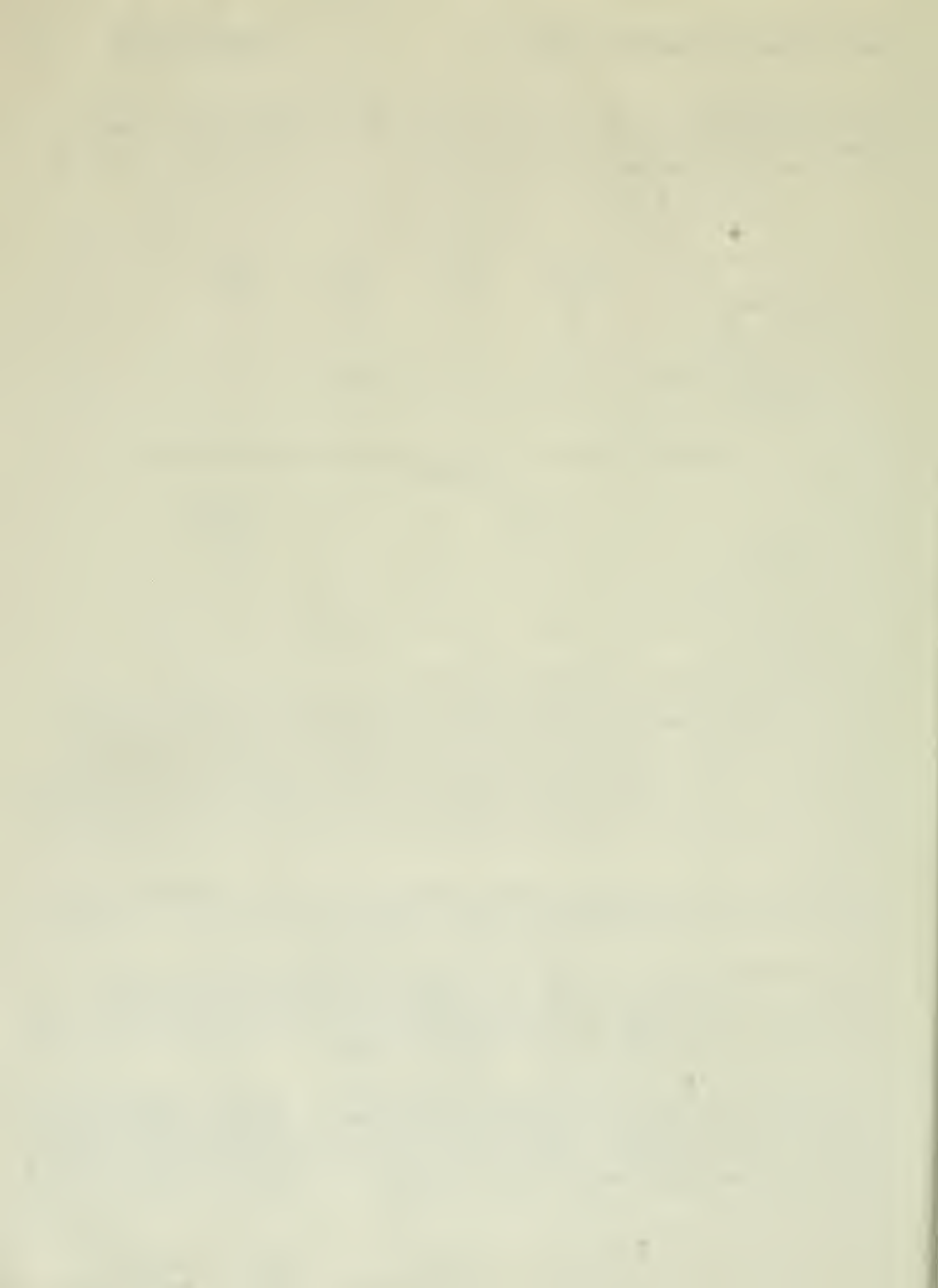
VII. Summary of Recent and Imminent Development

South End development activity, not including the Orange Line reconstruction, will result in a total investment of \$231 M (million) between 1975 and 1989, according to source e). The major component of this development will have been residential construction, totalling \$168.5 M or 53 percent of all South End development during this period. This investment will have resulted in 2,960 dwelling units (DU), including 2,072 DU of new and adaptive reuse construction (70%), and 888 DU of renovations (30%). The peak year for housing completion in the South End will be 1988 when 976 DU will come on line.

The types of units that will have been developed include 148 condominiums, 1,464 rental units, 27 co-op apartments, 70 single families, 205 B.H.A. units, 9 congregate units, 30 lodging house rooms, and 1,046 unclassified units.

Industrial development is the second largest sector of the South End economy, with investment totalling \$49.5 M during this period. This will have resulted in the development of 521,800 SF of industrial space, which will support 496 jobs. Most of these came on line in 1983 when Teradyne expanded and produced 323,000 SF through adaptive reuse construction at 1000 Washington Street.

The medical institutions of the South End, including University Hospital and South Cove Nursing Home, will have invested a total of \$38.4 M. University Hospital will be reconstructing its facility on East Newton St. with a new six story building that will cost \$35.4 M when completed in 1987. The South Cove Nursing Home completed its new 100 bed facility on Shawmut Ave. in 1985, and the cost of this project was \$3 M.



Parking and transportation is also an important part of recent South End development. There will have been a total of \$19.7 M spent over the 1975 to 1989 period to produce 1,065 urgently needed parking spaces. The major parking project is the Leighton Park garage at the former Tent City site which will contain 698 parking spaces. The remainder of the spaces will be in the South End Technology Square (245 spaces) and the Douglas Plaza (122 spaces) projects.

Hotel industry plans for the South End consist of a 250 room hotel which will be part of the South End Technology Square development. The \$15 M project is scheduled for completion in 1989.

The South End Technology Square project also calls for 150,000 SF of office space costing \$11 M to be completed in 1989. An additional project of 29,000 SF of renovated office space costing \$2.4 M will be completed in 1987. These projects along with two smaller ones will have developed over 180,000 SF of office space in the South End, creating \$14 M in total office investment during this period.

Sources and Methodology

a) - *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1950 - 1980*

b) - *B.R.A. and P.F.D. Household Survey, 1985*, conducted by the Center for Survey Research, U. Mass. at Boston. A sample of over 2,000 households, carefully drawn to reflect Boston's household population, was questioned in the spring of 1980, to parallel the 1980 U.S. Census. In 1985, exactly five years later, the same methodology was employed again to obtain an update and to identify neighborhood shifts. This survey did not include the group quarters population

To learn more about changes in these planning districts by 1985, the several thousand observations available from the 1985 BRA/PFD Household Survey were differentiated to the limit. Knowing such changes as the shift in number of persons by race/ethnicity and age group in each district is valuable for planning. However, this divides the available data into so many cells that it limits reliability tests. The inferences should therefore be viewed as suggestive rather than conclusive.

c) - *Boston's Changing Housing Patterns, 1970 to 1985*, Rolf Goetze, consultant to the B.R.A., November 1986. The 1980 U.S. Census does not specifically identify assisted dwelling units or the structure types within which they occur. It also does not indicate the type of stock in which condominiums are located, or when rental dwellings are in resident-owned structures. Therefore, available city data were carefully analyzed to obtain an overview and identify current housing patterns, as described in this source paper.

To aid in tracing the 1980 to 1985 changes in Table VIa, the housing stock was divided into units located in 1-4 unit structures, and those in 5 or more multi-unit structures. The 1-4s, dubbed **1-4(SF)** for single family, are largely singles, duplexes and triple-deckers, and tend to have a high rate of owner occupancy. **PrAptSF** designates the private apartments rented in this stock. In 1984, significant condominium conversion of triple-deckers commenced in some districts, shown as **CondoSF**.

Multifamily is designated as **5+(MF)**, and includes private rentals in this stock, **PrAptMF**, and condominiums, **CondoMF**, as well as public housing owned and managed by the Boston Housing Authority, **BHA**. Subsidized housing, **SubsHsg**, refers to privately-owned developments assisted under such federal programs as Section 221(d)(3), Section 236, and Section 8, as well as state assistance programs under EOCD and MHFA. The newly built assisted housing tends to be in multifamily structures, whereas the rehabilitated stock is more likely to be in 1-4 unit stock.

Table VIa also shows how the total stock in each time period is distributed, as well as the absolute and percent change.

d) - *U.S. Bureau of the Census, "County Business Patterns," 1983*

e) - *A Summary and Survey of Development in Boston, 1975 - 1989*, John Avault and Mark Johnson, April 1987, based on compilations maintained on "ULTRALIST" by the BRA Research Department

